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upon all teachers 'love of country, of humanity, and universal benevolence.' We do well to follow in Massachusetts' train and make Occidental a branch of a great peace and international arbitration society, for 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.'"

. . . The annual distribution of the Carnegie Hero Fund has taken place. A sailor who rescued six men receives the first prize; a boy who rescued a companion from drowning, the second prize; another boy who rescued his companion from a similar fate, the third; a man who snatched a child from a railway track just as a locomotive dashed by, the fourth, and so on. It is doubtful if any of these heroes had ever heard of the Carnegie prize, and they would have done just the same if there had been no such foundation. Real heroism is always spontaneous. But the Carnegie prize has nevertheless general educative value, and besides will often help needy people, who are even more apt to exhibit quick heroism than the "fat and well-favored."

. . . The Intercollegiate Peace Conference of the Middle West will meet this year at the University of Cincinnati on May 18 and 19. The Cincinnati Peace Society will coöperate. A part of the program will be an oratorical contest on the subject of peace. Thirty colleges have now joined the Association and have vice-presidents. Mr. Carnegie has given the Association $1,000 for this year's work, and they have raised as much more. The Secretary, Prof. Elbert Russell, Earham, Ind., has prepared a bibliography of peace literature for the use of the institutions, and all the thirty colleges are to be immediately supplied with the best books on the subject.

To England.

A prayer that she may speak for peace.

By Alfred Noyes.

Now is thy foot set on the splendid way;
Hold this hour fast! Though yet the skies be gray,
Lift up thy voice to greet the perfect day.
Speak, England, speak across the trembling sea!

Now is the grandest dawn that ever rose
Touching the clouds to glory; the light grows
White as a star where thy keen helmet glows,
Fronting the morn that makes all nations free.

Speak from thine island throne! Here in thy Gate,
Now, for thy voice alone, the nations wait:
Speak with the heart that made and keeps thee great,
Speak the great word of peace from sea to sea!

The nations wait, scarce knowing what they need:
Cold cunning claims their ears for lust and greed.
The poor and weak, with struggling hands that bleed,
Pray to thee now that thou wilt set them free.

The poor and weak uplift their manacled hands
To thee, our Mother, our Lady and Queen of lands;
Anguished in prayer before thy footstool stands
Peace, with her white wings glimmering o'er the sea,

Others may shrink, whose naked frontiers face
A million foemen of an alien race;
But thou, Imperial, by thy pride of place,
Oh, canst thou falter or fear to set them free?

Thou that hast dared so many a thunder-blast,
Is all thy vaunted empery so soon past?
First of the first, art thou afraid at last
To hold thy hands out first across the sea?

Not for such fears God gave thee thy rich dower,
The sea-wrought sceptre and the imperial power?
Ages have shed their blood for this one hour,
That thou might'st speak and set the whole world free.

Thou, thou alone can'st speak; thou, thou alone,
From the sure citadel of thy rock-bound throne.
Trust thy strong heart! Thine island is thine own,
Armed with the thunder and lightning of the sea.

Fools prate of pride where butchered legions fall;
Peace has one battle prouder than them all
(England, on thee our ringing trumpets call!)
One battle that shall set the whole world free.

Speak, speak and act! The sceptre is in thine hand;
Proclaim the reign of love from land to land;
Then, come the world against thee, thou shalt stand!
Speak, with the world-wide voice of thine own sea!

— *The Spectator.*

Militarism at the Jamestown Exposition.

Protest Against the Diversion of the Jamestown Exposition to the Service of Militarism, by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Dr. E. E. Hale, Cardinal Gibbons, Edwin D. Mead, John Mitchell, Miss Jane Addams, Pres. M. Carey Thomas, William Couper, Prof. James H. Dillard, Joseph Lee, J. Horace McFarland, Frederic Allen Whiting, Prof. C. M. Woodward, Prof. Charles Zueblin, and Other Members of the Exposition's Advisory Board.

The extravagant militarism of the program of the coming Jamestown Exposition, as developed and disclosed during the last few months, is a profound shock to a great body of the American people. In one of the issues of the official organ of the Exposition there is published conspicuously a list of the "attractions" of the coming Exposition. There are thirty-eight items in the list, and eighteen of these are as follows:

Greatest military spectacle the world has ever seen.

Grandest naval rendezvous in history.

International races by submarine warships.

Magnificent pyrotechnic reproduction of war scenes.

Reproduction of the famous battle between the "Monitor" and "Merrimac" at the place where that battle was fought.

Great museum of war relics from all nations and all ages.

Greatest gathering of warships in the history of the world.

Prize drills by the finest soldiers of all nations and by picked regiments of United States and State troops.

Races of military airships of different nations.

The largest military parade ground in the world.

Contests of skill between soldiers and sailors of different nations.

Daily inspection of warships in the harbor and troops in camp.

The greatest military and naval parade ever witnessed.

More naval and military bands than were ever assembled in time of peace.

Greatest array of gorgeous military uniforms of all nations ever seen in any country.

More members of royalty of different countries than ever assembled in peace or war.

The grandest military and naval celebration ever attempted in any age by any nation.

A great living picture of war with all of its enticing splendors.

We believe that the knowledge of this program, of which this is one of the many heraldings in the Exposition's magazine in these months, has come to three-quarters of the American people as a great surprise. It is a program utterly different from that given when the plan of the Jamestown Exposition was first submitted to the public, when a large body of men and women whom we honor were, with ourselves, invited to a place upon its Advisory Board, and when the various States were asked for and granted large financial support, to insure its success. That an international naval and military celebration was to have conspicuous place in the Exposition's program, as provided for by Congress in granting aid for that purpose in 1905, was well known, and was conventionally proper; but the purpose to make this great Exposition primarily a naval and military spectacle, to intoxicate the American people for six months by a "great living picture of war with all of its enticing splendors," encouraging the notion that war is a thing of splendor, a pageant and a game, instead of a horror and to-day almost invariably a crime, was not known, was not avowed, and has clearly been a gradually evolving purpose, whose carrying out, as now advertised, can only work immense mischief to the country. We solemnly protest against it.

As late as June the intended character of the Exposition was described in the official organ by the statement that the historical occasion which the Exposition commemorates would be "fittingly observed: first, by emphasizing the great historical events that have marked the progress of America from the first settlement; second, by an industrial exhibition primarily of American skill and art; and, third, by an international military, naval, and marine celebration."

TRANSFORMATION OF THE PROGRAM.

In July the intended scope of the celebration has become: "1. A great international naval and military assemblage, inaugurated and controlled by the United States government. 2. An Exposition inaugurated and controlled by the Jamestown Exposition Company," with exhibits on history, art, education, industry, etc. "If Congress shall pass the appropriation bill now pending," this would be the order of things. The government's original appropriation had been but $200,000. Before the issue of the August journal the additional appropriation of $1,500,000 had been made; and some of the uses to which an amount double that of the total original appropriation are to be put are announced, as follows:

Building for rendezvous for the soldiers and sailors of the United States army and navy and foreign armies and navies at the Exposition, $75,000. Building for the commissioned officers of the army and navy of the United States and of foreign countries, $50,000. For transportation of United States, State, and foreign troops to and from the Exposition, $100,000. For reproduction of battle of "Monitor" and "Merrimac" on Hampton Roads, $10,000. Official entertainment of foreign military and naval officers at Exposition, $125,000.

Other large sums are appropriated for expenditure by the Secretaries of the War and Navy, and for accommodations chiefly occasioned by the proposed naval and military displays.

We wish to say, quite independent of any general feeling about all this extravagant militarism, that the reproduction on Hampton Roads on such an occasion of one of the tragical battles of our Civil War, as a spectacle to attract and amuse a crowd of careless spectators, is a thing greatly to be deprecated. These are not memories which it is wise to freshen in the minds of our people. We trust that the recent intimation that this feature of the program will be abandoned is well grounded. This, however, is a comparatively trivial thing. The thing of moment is that the whole general character and proportion of the program for this great Exposition have undergone a thorough transformation, from a central purpose which was fitting and inspiring to a dominant end which is not fitting and is a menace to the true interest of the Republic.

PRIMARILY MILITARY AND NAVAL.

In July, as in June, "the main idea is historical" still, but with hints at readjustment. In August the first two items of the summary of the "Jamestown Exposition in Brief" are: "Official name: Jamestown Ter-centennial Exposition. Character: Military, naval, marine, and historic exhibition." Militarism is now distinctly and avowedly at the front; and in September we find sanctioned on the first page of the official journal the frank declaration: "The Exposition will be primarily a military and naval celebration, commercialism being relegated to the rear, but certain industrial features will play an important part in showing the progress of art, science, and the great inventions and improved methods of the present." In this slight upon commerce it seems to be forgotten that it was precisely as a step in English commercial expansion that the Jamestown settlement was conceived and has significance. To this complexion it has come at last; and we may be grateful for the humble supplementary assurance that industry also will not be relegated to the rear in this "commemoration of the first step in the building of the American Union," and that guns and gunboats, while assigned the primacy, are not given a monopoly, as exponents of American aims and achievements in these three hundred years.

"The Jamestown Exposition will be a continuous and varying scene of martial splendor from beginning to end," we are informed in the official journal. "Every branch of the United States army will be represented, the whole force to act as the military hosts of the foreign troops." In addition to these forces, "which alone would make a display unequaled," great bodies of State troops are to be brought from all parts of the country to encamp and parade in the Exposition grounds. For the first time in an American Exposition, "policing will be by United States soldiers." The presence of foreign

troops, hitherto forbidden in the Republic, will be a marked and exciting feature. "The United States has never hitherto permitted armed companies of foreign soldiery to visit this country. Consequently, for the first time Americans will see an international encampment, and the size of this one may be imagined when we realize that almost every foreign country will send one of its crack regiments."

THE ARMY AND NAVY EXHIBITS.

The exhibits of the War and Navy Departments will be "extremely comprehensive." The first "will run the gamut from the 2,400-pound cast-iron projectiles" down, with all "the various styles of machine guns" and "cartridge-making machines in operation"; and the naval museum will show models of battleships and cruisers galore, samples of the "big guns," and even a model dry dock in which "a miniature war vessel will be docked and undocked each day." There will be decorative pictures of famous naval battles — not by Verestchagin; "and each day there will be given a lecture, illustrated by moving pictures, which show the details of ship life at sea and in harbor," — doubtless of the same character as the stereopticon lectures on naval "splendors" just arranged by the naval authorities in various cities of the country to attract recruits. Indeed, the gorgeous placards concerning the Exposition now sent broadcast for our shops and railway stations, with their exciting pictures of a "sham battle" and "battleships endeavoring to force a landing," seem so expressly suited to recruiting purposes that it is with something of surprise that one discovers their printed claim to service in "celebrating the birth of the American nation"; as with ease the casual reader might mistake some issues of the official Jamestown Magazine for an illustrated army and navy journal.

The naval museum is merely "complementary to the fleets in the harbor." "Never in the history of this or any country," we are assured, "has there been such a concourse of fighting vessels as will be assembled in the Roads next year." It will be "the most colossal aggregation of fighting strength that has ever been gathered in one spot," exemplifying the highest combination of the arts "with the single purpose of destruction." "Any one of the great battleships that will lie there will carry in its bosom annihilating force that could create far greater devastation within range of its guns or torpedoes than the San Francisco earthquake." The great British delegation will be led by the new *Dreadnaught*, "able to whip any single battleship afloat, and with few exceptions a match for any three of them"; and the peculiar devil of the American breast, the admiration of bigness and force, is fed to its full with the census of the iron monsters, "the bulldogs of the sea," which are coming from Germany, Turkey, Russia, Brazil, and every quarter of the globe, "to do honor to the natal day of the United States of America."

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FATHERS.

What would the founders of this same American Republic say to this amazing program? Do we not know well, have we not their solemn word, that it is treason to all for which they labored and aspired? It was precisely to help lead the world away from these baleful old vanities and wrongs that they founded the Republic. Jefferson "wished to begin a new era. In a world torn by wars and drowned in blood, he believed that Americans might safely set an example which the Christian world should be led by interest to respect and at length to imitate. He would not consent to build up a new nationality merely to create more armies and navies, to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe. Our government should not be permitted to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the Old World a hell, and frustrated the hopes of humanity." "Are there no means of coercing injustice," he asked, "more gratifying to our nature than a waste of the blood of thousands and the labor of millions of our fellow-creatures?" He demanded the same rational settlement of differences between nations as between individuals, and looked forward to the supplanting of armies and navies by courts and an international police. "War," he said, "is an instrument entirely inefficient towards redressing wrong. It multiplies instead of indemnifying losses."

It was of a great naval battle that Franklin, in his famous description, makes the visiting angel from above, shocked at the sight, exclaim to his guide, "Blockhead, you undertook to conduct me to the earth, and you have brought me into hell!" "No, sir," is the reply, "this is the earth, and these are men. Devils never treat one another in this cruel manner. They have more sense, and more of what men vainly call humanity." "When will nations learn," asked Franklin, "to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats? Abstracted from the inhumanity of it, it is wrong in point of human providence. More has been always expended in wars for trade than the profits of any war can compensate. What vast additions to the comforts of life might mankind have acquired if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility, in doing good instead of doing mischief!" What would Franklin say if, at the very time that we are celebrating the second centennial of his birth, he could come to Hampton Roads, and see that the Republic's steps have been turned backward so far that there is to-day being arranged there — and this as a commemoration of the advent of the English race in the New World — "the grandest military and naval celebration ever attempted in any age by any nation"?

THE WORDS OF WASHINGTON.

What were the words of Washington concerning "war with all of its enticing splendors," with whose laudation his country is now invited to celebrate "its natal day"? "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth." He desired to see men "employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing and exercising implements for the destruction of mankind." To this pushing of militarism to the primacy and the relegation of industry, science and commerce to the rear, his rebuking word after the century still rings strong: "It is devoutly to be wished that the manly employment of agriculture and the humanizing benefits of commerce would supersede the waste of war and the rage of conquest, that the wings of your young military men who are soaring after glory might be clipped, and the inhabitants of the world become as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind."

These are the judgments of the founders of the republic concerning "war's enticing splendors." These

will be the Republic's judgments so long as it is faithful to their memory and their principles. The words of Washington and Franklin and Jefferson are the words also of their illustrious associates. The program of "the great living picture of war" at Hampton Roads is the program of our recreancy; and its fitting climax is the boast that the pageant will be witnessed by "more members of royalty than ever before assembled."

THE EXPOSITION AND CONGRESS.

It is stated in the official journal that this naval and military demonstration is "inaugurated and controlled by the United States government." Inauguration is an elastic term. What primarily concerns the public always is the inauguration of inaugurations; who "touches the button" it little cares. It surely will not be pretended that the government took any initiative toward the great appropriation which made possible this final program of "the greatest military spectacle in history." The answer to any such pretense would be the special articles in the Exposition's journal boasting of the audacious strategy by which the appropriation was lobbied through Congress in the last days of the session. "Few people outside of those intimately associated with the work of securing an appropriation from Congress for the Jamestown Exposition realize the difficulties that had to be overcome in order to obtain government aid." The story of the "hard fight" is couched in the military terms which fit the purpose. "At many stages the outcome was in extreme doubt and the situation most discouraging," but "at the critical period, when the light of hope burned low, some dauntless spirits of the Exposition made so valiant a fight that the opposition was overcome, and the enemies' guns were silenced. Like gallant soldiers they stood by their colors until defeat was administered to their opponents and victory perched upon their own banner." Congressman Littlefield of Maine "led the fight" against the appropriation in the House. Speaker Cannon was "openly hostile," so hostile that he even "refused to allow the bill to be called up in the House"; and the appropriation was finally secured by the Virginia senators getting the bill tacked on as an amendment to the Sundry Civil Bill in the Senate, and so getting it before the House, where persistent lobbying had won a sufficient number of members to "stand by the Senate amendment," thus outgeneraling the Speaker, "and demonstrating what may be accomplished by pluck, industry, and perseverance, even when the cause seemed lost."

This is not our story, but the official journal's story of the course by which $1,500,000 was acquired from the national treasury. It is not the story of dealings with a Congress anxious to inaugurate something: it is the story of an inveterate lobbying hardly short of battling to wring from Congress the necessary means for these "enticing splendors of war," with all their advertising power. The lobbyists have well won the thanks given them for making possible "the grandest military and naval celebration in history," and "a new era of prosperity to the cities on Hampton Roads." It is not doubted that they found plenty of ready ears in Congress. The ambitious military party in Washington was of course as avid to coöperate as to be coöperated with. For here, as the event so well proves, was an even better chance to vaunt the "big navy" than to promote "tidewater Virginia," upon which the Exposition's organ places emphasis. The opportunity was golden; and we are not called upon to proportion the responsibility for its use, nor to consider by what particular commissions or authorities various sums are to be expended or various operations directed. We are concerned simply with the situation.

NO CRITICISM UPON PROPER DISPLAY.

We are not of those who impugn the army and the navy; they have their proper and necessary place. We are here urging no objection to dignified military participation in the ceremonies of the Jamestown Exposition nor to such proper naval display as the location of the Exposition beside Hampton Roads naturally invites. We do not criticise commercial enterprise: we applaud the local energy and ambition behind our great expositions. We do not plead for any parsimonious policy toward them on the part of our national or state governments; and we would here heartily record our appreciation of the wise and useful purposes to which the funds appropriated for the Jamestown Exposition alike by the nation and the states have mainly been assigned. We would especially commend the plans so ably outlined by the eminent scholar at the head of the department of history and education, and his neglected plea that "the central thought of the Jamestown Exposition should be the thought of the first English colony and its influence." We solemnly protest against the association of that high thought with the "enticing splendors of war" and the prostitution of a great national festival planned to commemorate our New World birth and the representative American achievements of these three centuries into an enterprise which "will be primarily a military and naval celebration," with history and education, industry and commerce relegated to the background or overshadowed.

THE VIEWS OF MCKINLEY.

In each number of the Exposition's journal is printed prominently this noble word of President McKinley's, spoken at the Buffalo Exposition just before his death: "Expositions are the timekeepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. Every exposition has helped to some onward step." Is it for America to give the lie to this high definition, and by an exposition devoted primarily to the glorification of the miscalled "splendors of war," which the founders of the Republic loathed and dreaded, and which the great statesmen of the world are at this hour leagued in a mighty effort to supplant by rational order, to stop the clock of progress and help turn the world's steps backward to the barbarism from which it is struggling to be free? Shall the name especially of Hampton, made sacred throughout the world by its association for a generation with the most conspicuous and heroic effort in the Republic for the solution of the one great problem which confronts us, be made notorious henceforth chiefly by the association of its waters with the most monstrous effort in our history to block the solution of the other, to eclipse the high ambition of Washington and Jefferson to make the Republic the great pioneer of peace by this threatened year's debauch of the American people with "the splendors of war"? Everything right, reverent, and patriotic in our democratic blood cries out against it. If we are to invite here to join in this birthday celebration "more members

of royalty of different countries than ever before assembled," let it not be to signalize to them our conversion to their vanities and our pusillanimous relapse into the hoary militarism which the vital among themselves now condemn and deplore, but rather to put proudly at the front those things in our American life which have hope in them and relish of salvation, and which show what we have achieved in these three centuries that makes for the welfare and progress of mankind.

THE SPLENDORS OF JUSTICE.

Could our counsel at this hour avail, it would be that the greater part of the amount now appropriated for showing the American people "the splendors of war" be withdrawn from that office, whether the apportionment of money be by the Exposition's authority or Congressional authority, and devoted to showing them the splendors of justice. Honor itself commands, in view of the program submitted to the various legislatures, that no larger amount shall be devoted to military pageantry than a reasonable share of the government's original appropriation. Let our people be shown the illustrious services of their own leaders in that great movement which the world's true statesmen believe is to have its fruition in the twentieth century in the banishment from earth of the monstrous body of "crack regiments" and "bulldogs of the sea" which have so long burdened humanity. No sane mind can contemplate these to-day save with shame at the immorality and immaturity of man. The world's maturing thought and conscience are concentrating on the creation of worthier agencies. The swelling demand of to-day is for justice; and "big guns" and "bulldogs of the sea" are seen not to be judicial instruments. The world's reason refuses longer to class great battleships with great universities as the fitting marks and tools of great nations. The credential and vocation of the great nation is great justice, and not the assertion of power to be law for itself. The first among the nations shall be the gentleman among the nations. Broadway and Pennsylvania Avenue would not be safer if their gentlemen returned to swords and pocket pistols; and we should not be in less danger from Canada nor she from us, but in greater, if two naval squadrons paraded the Great Lakes and a line of forts stretched from Vancouver to Duluth. The duel, which becomes obsolete for men, hastens to become obsolete for nations; and the same spirit and machinery of justice which control individual life now at last are to control the world. The bigger battleship and the bigger battalion and the famous victory which is their issue are seen to show not which of two fighting nations is right, but only which is richer and stronger; and reason demands more rational things. To vaunt the splendors of war at the hour when the vital world's vision is on the splendors of justice is blindness; to give it primacy is madness.

A HALL OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

Let us in our American International Exposition recognize truth and life. In a noble Hall of International Justice by Hampton Roads let the people be instructed, by speech and book and picture, in the realities of war instead of its "splendors." Let them be taught the real purpose, on battle day instead of holiday, of these shining battleships serried for their childish admiration. Let them be taught what their cost means. Paint on the walls their equivalents in public benefit — in school and gallery and park and hospital and home. Print there the simple statement of President Eliot at Tuskegee last April, that for the cost of one of these short-lived monsters a Tuskegee could be planted in every Southern State, and the question which expenditure would accomplish the more for the safety of the country. Beside the picture of the last $10,000,000 battleship, picture the hundred buildings of Harvard University, with the buildings of Yale, Amherst, Williams, Bowdoin, Brown and Dartmouth, and show the careless throng that the buildings of all of these historic New England colleges and universities together cost less by more than a million dollars than the battleship, whose effective life will be a dozen years. Add to the value of all the buildings of the University of Virginia, the Hampton Institute, William and Mary College, and every college in Virginia, the entire estimated expenditure for the Jamestown Exposition, and the sum total is less than the cost of a single *Dreadnaught*. Mass the figures which show how vastly greater is our military bill than our total expenditure for education, and ask which expenditure helps better to defend us and is worthier of republican applause.

AMERICAN PROPHETS OF PEACE.

The Bishop of Hereford has just been telling England that the United States is the best peace society in the world, because it illustrates on a broader field than any other organization the beneficent power of a federal court and federal legislation. The Baron d'Estournelles has just been telling France that the United States has done more than any other power to bring the Hague Tribunal into general respect and successful operation. The Baroness von Suttner has just been telling Austria and Germany that she looks to the New World for the strongest impulse to the new era of peace and coöperative international life. We have deserved the praise. Is our response to the larger hope to be "the greatest military and naval display in history"? Rather a Hall of International Justice, where the figures of Washington and Jefferson shall head the line of the revered American presidents and statesmen who have echoed their great words; where the inspiring and commanding lines of the American poets shall be emblazoned; and where, along with the heralds of a better order who have brightened the centuries in Italy, France, Holland, Germany and England, there shall have place upon the walls the faces of the noble company of American prophets of peace, from Worcester, Channing, and Sumner to John W. Foster, Andrew Carnegie and Andrew D. White.

THE COMING HAGUE CONFERENCE.

But the central prominence in our Hall of International Justice should be given to the great constructive program of the immediate future, the five high demands formulated by the Interparliamentary Union at Westminster for the coming Conference at The Hague, — a world parliament, a general arbitration treaty, the limitation of armaments, a commission to publish to the world an impartial statement of contested issues before any hostilities between nations, and the immunity of all private property at sea in time of war. This last strong demand, made with such power by our own Franklin more than a century ago, is made powerfully to-day by the Lord Chancellor of England. Guarantee safety to all commerce by international decree, and the occupation

and need of big navies for insurance purposes is forever gone. Were half the zeal and money wasted on mischievous military pageantry given to bringing home to America her opportunity and duty at this critical international juncture, she might alone exercise such influence as should at once dismiss half the guns and gunboats from the world.

It is not yet too late to modify the program of the Jamestown Exposition, and give it a character worthy of the true America. But if it is irrevocably decreed that the Exposition shall be "primarily a military and naval celebration," then, as we believe that few of our States would with knowledge of this new program have granted the appropriations which they did, so our own identification with the Exposition's Advisory Board is a manifest impropriety. If a review of these plans in the stage of their conception or consideration had been made possible, we should in the exercise of the office of advisers have advised urgently against them. Learning of them only as the public learns of them, through public channels, when they are perfeced, we discharge our duty by remonstrance, and follow the private protest made by many of us by public protest.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA

The impressive fact cannot be forgotten, nor the mournful contrast fail to be marked, that the inaugural exposition at London in 1851, in the great series of international expositions now eventuating in America in a celebration of war, was conceived in England expressly as a festival of peace, a greeting of the dawn of an era of industrialism to supplant the old era of militarism, a pledge and celebration of fraternity and cöoperation among the nations.

The noblest ambition of the present Liberal government of England, the mother country of the race whose advent in America it is proposed to celebrate by "the greatest military spectacle the world has ever seen," is to place England at the head of a movement to unite the great influential powers in a League of Peace. The prime minister of England, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in his opening speech at the recent Interparliamentary Conference at Westminster, said: "The reasoned opinion of Europe is declaring itself more and more strongly for peace. Is it not evident that a process of simultaneous and progressive arming defeats its own purpose? Scare answers to scare, and force begets force, until at length it comes to be seen that we are racing one against another after a phantom security. The expending of the strength and substance of nations as preparations for war, ever consuming the reserves on which a State must ultimately rely, I mean, the well-being and vitality of its people, is surpassing futility; and the time is approaching when nothing can hold back from the peoples that it is they who are the victims of war and militarism; that war in its tawdry triumphs scatters the fruits of their labor, breaks down the paths of progress, and turns the fire of constructive energy into a destroying force." This is the official and representative word of the mother country, while representatives of the daughter summon the nations to "the greatest array of gorgeous military uniforms ever seen," and "a great living picture of war with all of its enticing splendors." It is a humiliating betrayal of America.

The Central Labor Union of Boston, in September, unanimously protested against the choice of Labor Day as the day for the great naval parade at Oyster Bay. It repudiated and condemned the association in any way of the cause of militarism with the cause of labor and its festival, and declared that no party which identifies itself with the "big navy" craze may hope for the permanent or long support of the workingmen of America, who stand distinctly with their brother workers in England, France and Germany in condemning the whole modern military system. With the same emphasis and spirit should every faithful American citizen repudiate the attempt to organize "the most elaborate military and naval display in history" as the fitting celebration of the achievements and significance of the English race in the New World.

This Exposition is to open the first of May. At that very time the representatives of all the nations of the world will probably be assembling at The Hague for the second great International Peace Conference; and the period of that august assembly's deliberations in behalf of the world's national organization and permanent peace will be precisely coincident with the period of the military and naval excesses planned by Americans for Hampton Roads. The nations are summoned to the Old World to join in moving upward and onward, as they are invited to the New World to join in moving backward and downward. It is an awful contrast,—and to the great body of those in the Republic who revere the memory and cherish the aspirations of its founders its fulfilment would be the crowning humiliation. We appeal to all those in any way responsibly associated with the coming Exposition who feel the meaning of the word America, and who divine the significance of the international hour which is now striking, to unite in an effort to avert this humiliation from the Republic; and in this effort we believe that they will have the support of everything that is enlightened, faithful, and sound in American public sentiment.

The Peace of Goodwill.

BY REV. TEUNIS S. HAMLIN, D.D.

From the Christmas Sermon of the Pastor of the Church of the Covenant, Washington, D. C.

This, too [peace among nations] must rest upon goodwill. And the foundation of such goodwill has of recent years been solidly laid in growing international respect. The benefit of rapid, easy, and inexpensive communication among all parts of the globe is not chiefly commercial, as we are wont to think, but moral. We have come better to know our fellow-men of all races and languages; their civil and religious ideas and institutions; their intelligence, humane feelings, intrinsically sound character. And to know men, anywhere, everywhere, is to respect them: not indeed to approve all that they do and are; but to recognize, on the one hand, their limitations due to heredity and environment, and, on the other, their capability of better things, and their desire to attain them. Never in the world's history have this respect and the goodwill consequent upon it been so general as now.

And this marvelously smooths the way for the coming of universal peace. What only a few years ago was thought to be a poet's brilliant fancy, "the parliament of man, the federation of the world," is now seen